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THE PRESIDENTIAL CRISIS RHETORIC OF SEPTEMBER 11TH, 2001 AND
HURRICANE KATRINA: EXAMPLES OF
CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP OR NOT?

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
Applied Sociology

by
Kelly M. Davis
May 2007

Accepted by:
Dr. Kinly Sturkie, Committee Chair
Dr. John M. Coggeshall
Dr. James Witte

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the influence of crisis on the use of charismatic rhetoric. Using computerized content analysis, the speeches and radio addresses of President Bush were examined during four time periods, including pre- and post-September 11th and pre- and post-Hurricane Katrina. Theoretical characteristics of charismatic leadership were examined through the development of eight charismatic rhetoric constructs (collective focus, temporal orientation, followers' worth, similarity to followers, values and moral justifications, tangibility, action, and adversity). Results from MANOVA tests reveal that the rhetorical leadership of President Bush became more charismatic following each of the crises, which suggests that the increased charisma was crisis-responsive instead of visionary during both post-crisis time periods. The implications of the leader, follower, and situation interaction are discussed as they apply to the message of the leader, the emotional involvement of the followers, and the different contexts of the crises.

DEDICATION

To Jenny Davis, my mom, the wind beneath my wings, with love. Thank you for always supporting me in my educational pursuits and for providing me with such enriching learning opportunities.

And to Adam Davis, my brother, the best friend anyone could have, with sincere gratitude for continually brightening my days with your crazy jokes, silly sayings, acts of kindness, and words of encouragement. You do not know how much these little things helped me day after day as I worked toward completing this thesis.

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CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH PROBLEM

This research examines the characteristics of President George W. Bush's rhetoric in order to determine the extent to which he employs language defined as characteristic of charismatic leaders (Shamir, Arthur, & House, 1994). In accord with Weber's concept of charisma (1947; 1968), charismatic leadership has often been framed within the context of a crisis. President George W. Bush's language use and its resulting characterization will be studied within the context of two major crises of his presidency, the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks and Hurricanes Katrina and Rita in August and September of 2005. Thus, the purpose of this research is to identify through computerized content analysis the degree to which President Bush used charismatic language in his speeches and radio addresses to the nation during each crisis. By investigating the levels of charismatic language within President Bush's speeches, the development and nature of the presidential-constituent relationship (or the leader-follower relationship) during times of crisis will become clearer since rhetoric is the primary means by which the leader-follower relationship is communicated and enacted (Tulis, 1987).

Introduction

During a time of crisis, the need for a leader becomes apparent. Often times, it is the leader who delivers communications about the crisis to the followers and the media, sets a plan of action, makes critical decisions, and serves in an inspirational role that encourages followers despite the circumstances (Hicks, 2005; Kiewe, 1994).

In the case of a national crisis, be it an incident of terrorism, a natural disaster, an international debacle, or a financial depression, the President of the United States often takes on this leadership role. Along with the local and state leaders involved in responding to the crisis, the President bears the responsibility for navigating and leading the nation through the crisis.

Because public speeches and major addresses serve as the primary mode of communication between the President and the citizens of the country, the content of the President's speeches matters. These speeches are typically disseminated through a variety of media outlets including television, radio, magazines, and newspapers. The word choice and word combinations that comprise the speeches along with their delivery can have a profound effect on the constituency. For example, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) delivered the well-known quote "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself" during his Inaugural Address on March 4, 1933 (Woolley & Peters, 2006). The fear that President Roosevelt was referring to was Americans' increasing apprehension and distress caused by the Great Depression. His speech resonated with the American public because it incited optimism and courage at a time in which Americans needed reassurance and hope for the future (Willner, 1984). His address promoted a transmogrification that within a hundred days saved millions of Americans from starvation and started to massage the economy back to health (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum, 2006). With such a large impact in such a short time, FDR became known for his awe-inspiring speeches that were followed with action-steps aimed at alleviating some of the pains of the crisis situation. Indeed, with Roosevelt's rhetorical abilities and intelligent use of his speeches to motivate the American public (along with the high threat and crisis

situation), he became known as one of the most charismatic presidents in United States history (Deluga, 1998; McCann, 1997).

FDR was just one of many American presidents who successfully used charismatic rhetoric during times of crisis. Throughout American history, presidents have effectively employed speechwriting and speechmaking to direct the United States through both domestic and international crises. Most recently, President George W. Bush has had the task of steering our nation through the crises of the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001, and the large-scale devastation of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita on the United States Gulf Coast. Because the President, through speechmaking, can substantially influence the victims, emergency responders, local and national policymakers, and in general, the citizens of the affected regions and the entire country (along with the international community), the use of presidential crisis rhetoric during these times was extremely important. As exemplified by FDR, the President has the ability through his/her rhetoric to inspire, motivate, and encourage simply through the use of words. By doing so, the President can appeal to the emotions of followers to influence needed social action and precipitate change on a large scale during a crisis.

Two noteworthy studies have examined President Bush's leadership in the wake of the September 11th attacks (Bligh, Kohles, & Meindl, 2004a; Bligh, Kohles, & Meindl, 2004b; Hicks, 2005). Using computerized content analysis of President Bush's major speeches both before and after the September 11th crisis, Bligh, Kohles, & Meindl (2004a) found that the President's rhetoric increased in charisma post-crisis in comparison to pre-crisis levels. Additionally, Bligh et al. analyzed President Bush's approval ratings during the same time period. The results from the

nationwide polls conducted by top polling organizations showed uncharacteristically high approval ratings which the President sustained over many months. Taken together, Bligh et al. suggest that the President's increased use of charismatic language as well as the constituents' high approval of the President's performance during the September 11th crisis and its aftermath "may have transformed the relationships between the President and the U.S. citizenry toward something that is, by degree, more heavily grounded in charismatic leadership processes than was the case before the crisis" (2004a, p. 228). Hence, charismatic rhetorical leadership may be a product of the crisis, the leader, and the followers, such that the particular amalgamation of these factors influences the emergence and level of charismatic leadership. Bligh et al. (2004a, p. 228) elaborate this point:

The evolution of Bush's rhetoric after the 9/11 crisis represents a compelling case of how leaders can utilize language to galvanize support for overarching causes...Within the context of a threatening crisis, when followers feel an acute desire for a charismatically appealing leader, and when a leader adopts a more charismatic style of rhetorical communication...surely, the possibilities for the emergence of charismatic leadership are enhanced.

In contrast to the former study, Hicks (2005) compared the rhetorical components of the speeches made by FDR on December 7, 1941, the day of the Pearl Harbor attacks, and by President Bush on September 11, 2001, the day of the coordinated terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. By examining the language both presidents used to define the crisis, unify the nation, take command of the situation, and create a vision for the future, Hicks found that both used a combination of leadership styles in their crisis rhetoric including: 1) transformational, 2) task-oriented and directive (from the situational leadership model), 3) authoritarian, and 4) democratic. (These leadership paradigms are described in Appendix A). Thus, Hicks' findings suggest that charisma (as a

component of the transformational leadership model) is part of presidential crisis rhetoric, but additional leadership approaches appear to punctuate presidential crisis rhetoric.

Building upon the research of Bligh et al. (2004a; 2004b) and Hicks (2005), the purpose of this thesis is to investigate the extent to which President Bush employed charismatic rhetoric in his major speeches and radio addresses during two major crises of his presidency. Through computerized content analysis, this research analyzes the rhetoric of President Bush before, during, and after the September 11th attacks and Hurricanes Katrina and Rita to determine the degree to which he used charismatic speech during each of these historical events. Thus, this research intends to provide valuable information regarding the relationship between presidential rhetoric during times of crisis and the use of charismatic language to communicate with the American people.

This study examines President Bush's rhetorical leadership at two different points during his presidency and the extent to which he utilized charismatic rhetoric during each point. This examination will perhaps provide information regarding changes in the levels of the President's charismatic rhetoric during each crisis, possibly offering a glimpse as to why President Bush was praised and lauded for his leadership during the September 11th crisis and highly criticized for his leadership in the aftermath of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. Because a large-scale crisis greatly affects the leader-follower relationship (Bligh et al., 2004a), the study of the emergence or lack thereof of charismatic rhetorical leadership within crisis situations will provide information as to how the articulation and communication of the crisis

situation and the needed next steps can assuage the distress of the American people and bring about positive social change.

Relevant Leadership Paradigms

The charismatic leadership paradigm serves as the primary theoretical underpinning for this thesis research. However, in order to conceptualize charismatic leadership adequately, it is important to consider other relevant leadership paradigms. The opportunity to position charismatic leadership among these other paradigms allows for a broader understanding of the similarities and differences among them. Additionally, the shared elements of the charismatic leadership paradigm with several of the other paradigms firmly tie the paradigms together. For example, the transformational paradigm includes charismatic qualities within a sublevel of the theory, while some of the purposes of charismatic leaders overlap with those of transformational leaders. The leader's individual characteristics are taken into account in the interactional framework, so the qualities of the charismatic leader would be encompassed within the interactional framework theory. Also, all of the aforementioned theories incorporate (either directly or indirectly) the situation and the followers within their definitions. Hence, charismatic leadership shall be examined within the context of several other leadership paradigms, but because the focus of this thesis is charismatic leadership, the concept of charismatic leadership will be explored in greater depth in the following sections.

The major components and definitions of the relevant leadership paradigms as well as the common characteristics of each kind of leader are included in Appendix A. This appendix not only provides a succinct summary of the applicable

major leadership theoretical approaches, but it also serves as a reference guide for many terms and theories which are discussed throughout this thesis.

Defining Charismatic Leadership

The Weberian Concept of Charismatic Leadership

The term *charismatic leadership* stems from Max Weber's (1947; 1968) notion of charismatic authority. Using the adjectives *exceptional*, *supernatural*, and *magical*, along with nouns like *hero*, *prophet*, and *savior*, Weber described charismatic authority as deriving from the possession and public exhibition of unique and spellbinding qualities (Willner, 1984). These qualities embody "the gift of grace" (Weber, 1968, p. 47) and, hence, are out of the realm of the everyday or the common (Adair-Toteff, 2005). Thus, when a person is attributed authority based on his/her thaumaturgical powers, he/she is viewed as a leader based upon his/her charisma.

In addition to the possession of exceptional powers, Weber (1947; 1968) included several other factors that contribute to the emergence of charismatic leadership. Willner (1984) and Trice and Beyer (1986) explicate these factors of Weber's charismatic leadership classification by clearly delineating each one. Specifically, the following factors provide the necessary conditions for charismatic leadership to emerge:

1. A person who possesses extraordinary gifts;
2. A crisis or time of distress;
3. A revolutionary solution to the crisis;
4. Followers who believe in the person and who are attracted to the miraculous qualities of the person;
5. Validation of the person's gifts through repeated successes.

Within the literature, scholars disagree as to whether each characteristic must be present in order for the leader to be deemed charismatic. Trice and Beyer (1986)

maintain a strict adherence to the Weberian concept of charisma and, as such, hold that all the factors must be existent in the situation. On the contrary, Bass (1988) argues that followers' full acceptance of the leader is not necessary for the leader to be termed charismatic, while Boal and Bryson (1988), through their dichotomous characterization of charismatic leadership (visionary and crisis-responsive), propose that visionary charismatic leadership can exist without the presence of a crisis.

The Behavioral Perspective of Charismatic Leadership

According to the behavioral perspective of charismatic leadership, charismatic leaders exhibit particular actions, traits, or attributes that non-charismatic leaders lack in their "constellation of behaviors" (Conger and Kanungo, 1988, p. 89). For example, Bass (1988) holds that charismatic leaders will generally be emotionally expressive, self-confident, self-determined, insightful, free from internal conflict, eloquent, highly active, and energetic. Results from House, Woycke, and Fodor's (1988) study of charismatic and non-charismatic United States presidents support Bass' behavioral delineation of charismatic leadership in that effective charismatic presidents were highly involved, active, and emotionally committed to the pursuit of the identified institutional goals.

Conger and Kanungo (1987; 1988) identify three stages of the charismatic leadership influence process that contribute to followers attributing charisma to the leader. In stage one, the leader assesses the environmental conditions of the status quo and uses his/her expertise to identify deficiencies within the current state. Next, in stage two, the leader formulates goals and plans for addressing the deficiencies of the status quo and then articulates his/her vision effectively through the use of rhetoric, high energy and motivation, and confidence. In the final stage, the leader

works to achieve the vision by building the leader-follower trust relationship through self-sacrifice, risk-taking, and the use of unconventional expertise. During this stage, the leader may be perceived as “revolutionary” because of his/her innovative and possibly countercultural means of accomplishing the vision.

To summarize the arguments of the behavioral conception of charismatic leadership, specific behaviors of the leader which can be observed and assessed by the followers are viewed as being charismatic when the leader possesses desirable qualities or traits more so than others. Hence, followers’ perceptions of the leader as charismatic are key and are based upon their assessment of the number, intensity, and salience of the distinguishing charismatic attributes (Conger & Kanungo, 1988).

The Transformational Leader and Charisma

In Bass’ (1990b) categorization of transformational leadership, the leader is concerned with the needs of his/her followers and vice versa. In Bass’ (1990b, p. 21) words:

Superior leadership performance — transformational leadership — occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their [followers], when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group, and when they stir their [followers] to look beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group.

Bass proposes that the means by which the transformational leader promotes such follower cooperation and attachment to the goals and interests of the group is through charisma. The leader’s charisma causes the followers to identify with the leader and thus encourages them to put in extra effort to accomplish the goals of the group. In fact, the leader-follower relationship within the transformational leadership model promotes self-efficacy, self-management, and self-development (Avolio & Gibbons, 1988).

Charisma is not the only factor in transformational leadership. Bass (1990b) includes inspiration, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration in his model as well. Thus, should the leader's charisma not appeal to the follower, the leader's ability to solve problems and introduce different viewpoints regarding difficult situations or the leader's investment of personal attention and advice to the follower can produce the same transformational effects. However, charisma is the most central and significant of the factors, so much so that the terms charismatic and transformational leadership have been used interchangeably by numerous scholars (Hunt & Conger, 1999).

Integrating the Weberian, behavioral, and transformational theories of charismatic leadership, the definition of charismatic leadership for the purposes of this thesis is: "an interaction between leaders and followers [during or after a crisis situation] that results in 1) making the followers' self-esteem contingent on the vision and mission articulated by the leader, 2) a strong internalization of the leader's values and goals by the followers, 3) a strong personal or moral...commitment to these values and goals, and 4) a willingness on the part of followers to transcend their self-interests for the sake of the collective" (House & Shamir, 1993, p. 86). Thus, the followers will be incited to take social action when called upon through crisis rhetoric.

Defining a Crisis

Formally, a crisis is defined as "a serious threat to the basic structures or the fundamental values and norms of a system, which under time pressure and highly uncertain circumstances necessitates making critical decisions" (Rosenthal, Charles,

& t' Hart, 1989, p. 10). The distinguishing characteristics of a crisis seem to be the threat and inconceivability of the situation (Rosenthal, Boin, & Comfort, 2001). In fact, the perception of a serious and credible threat is considered to be the "requisite feature of all crisis events" (Seeger, Sellnow, & Ulmer, 2003, p. 8).

Several characteristics can assist in the defining and describing of crises; these may be the cause, the locus of responsibility, the emergency response, the size, and the length of the crises (Heath & Millar, 2004). However, the urgency and surprise of the crisis set it apart, and thus make it a dynamic process which in some way disturbs the status quo. According to Rosenthal et al. (2001), the causes of crises stem from a combination of environmental flux, organizational failure, and individual mistakes, which may be due to a lack of foresight or a breakdown in decisional vigilance. Additional causes or categories of crisis are economic catastrophes such as a stock market crash, psychopathic acts like terrorism, and natural disasters including earthquakes, hurricanes, or explosions (Mitroff, 2004). Since the two time periods which are of interest within this research, the terrorist attacks of September 11th and Hurricane Katrina, fall under the major causes of crisis mentioned within the literature and because there were heightened threat levels during each which necessitated quick decision-making, it is clear that these events could be classified as crises.

Charismatic Leadership in Times of Crisis

The relationship between crisis situations and the emergence of charismatic leadership is still being debated. Some scholars see crisis as an antecedent for, or a facilitator of, charismatic leadership. In a college class environment, Pillai and

Meindl (1991) simulated a crisis situation by administering and randomly scoring a quiz (worth 15% of the grade) with either high “no crisis” scores or low “crisis” scores and then using the quiz results to assign teams for a group exercise (comprising 20% of the grade). The groups were told that the scores were distributed in bipolar directions instead of in the normal bell curve and that the quiz results served as the basis for the selection of the groups. Once formed, the groups were tasked with selecting a leader, discussing a real-life case study, and making a consensus decision regarding the case. After the exercise, the group members completed a questionnaire designed to measure the group leader’s effectiveness and leadership style (charismatic and/or transactional). The correlation between leader effectiveness and charisma was statistically significant, suggesting that the leader was perceived to be more effective when he/she was thought to be charismatic. Further, the charismatic leadership ratings were significantly higher for the crisis groups in comparison to the non-crisis groups, which denotes that a crisis condition may affect followers’ perceptions and attributions of the leader as charismatic.

Hunt, Boal, and Dodge (1999) also used experimental methods to explore the relationship between charismatic leadership and crisis situations. The study was designed to specifically produce two forms of charismatic crisis leadership: visionary (which begins from a theoretical schema of action and then progresses to actions) and crisis-responsive (which begins with actions aimed at vindicating the crisis and then follows with new theoretical and interpretative schema to justify the actions taken). In order to determine whether these different crisis leadership styles existed and the extent to which they influenced followers, two graduate students (who served as the leaders in the experiment) used different leadership scripts that

provided instructions as to how the graduate student leader was to act for each of the leadership treatments. The treatments were modeled before participants who were recruited from college classes. As part of the study, the participants were assigned a task and given a specific time in which to complete the task. The crisis situation was created when the timeframe to complete the task was truncated. Results from the questionnaires completed at the conclusion of the study suggest that, indeed, a crisis is necessary for crisis-responsive charismatic leadership to develop and that the effects of crisis-responsive charismatic leadership decline more rapidly than do the effects of visionary-charismatic leadership.

Still others view crisis as unnecessary for the manifestation of charismatic leadership. Halverson, Murphy, and Riggio (2004) conducted an experiment in which college undergraduates were randomly assigned to be leaders of a group of their peers. The stress (or crisis) condition was created by telling a random sample of these leaders that their group interactions were being videotaped for the purpose of rating their leadership abilities and that each leader would have to give an oral report to faculty regarding the group processes and strategies used to complete the task. The control condition was created by telling the leaders that the group interactions were being videotaped solely for data collection. During the experiment, the groups experienced a crisis intervention when they were given an additional task to complete in a short amount of time. In their analysis, Halverson et al. (2004) found that when the crisis intervention was introduced, the leaders actually experienced decreases in charismatic behavior.

Additional studies support the argument that charismatic leadership can develop outside of crises. For example, Pillai and Meindl's (1998) study of health

care work units focused on the respondents' perceptions of how their unit had dealt with crisis and stress. This research mirrors that of Halverson, Murphy, and Riggio (2004) in that stress was negatively related to the emergence of charismatic leadership. Hunt, Boal, and Dodge (1999) add to this perspective through their investigation of the characteristics of visionary charismatic leadership. Based upon their research, they hold that vision alone is sufficient to evoke attributions of charismatic leadership among followers. Within this view, a crisis situation does not seem to be a precursor to the emergence of charismatic leadership.

Some scholars maintain that situational influences may produce charismatic leadership outside of a crisis situation. In weak, loosely defined situations leaders will have to rely on their self-concepts instead of on an established organizational structure. This ambiguity and uncertainty of the situation may create opportunities for the emergence of charismatic leaders (Shamir & Howell, 1999). For example, in the California recall election of 2003, the situation was affected by low organizational performance and an overall dubiety as to the leadership of the state. In this particular case, ratings of charisma and effectiveness for the challengers were higher than those of the incumbent, suggesting that the state of affairs can affect attributions of charisma (Bligh, Kohles, & Pillai, 2004).

As has been demonstrated, the perspectives on the role of crisis and its relationship to charismatic leadership differ greatly. Hence, charismatic leadership could be thought of as a continuum with the Weberian conceptualization and the five components of charismatic leadership on one end and a form of "everyday" charisma on the other (Hunt, Boal, & Dodge, 1999). This theoretical bent offers promise for incorporating the Weberian, behavioral, and transformational models of

charismatic leadership into one. However, additional research in charismatic leadership will offer more data points on this spectrum, providing better theoretical models. Therefore, this research shall explore the connections between crisis and charismatic leadership. Using presidential rhetoric, the characteristics of charismatic language will be examined in greater detail since the rhetorical leadership during two crises will be sampled. The particular levels of charismatic language at different points in the crises will offer a unique opportunity to explore the rise and the decline of charismatic language use. Hence, the purpose of this thesis is to not only determine the extent to which President Bush employed charismatic language during the September 11th and Katrina crises. This research also explores the patterns of charismatic language use and the strength and combinations of the characteristics of charismatic rhetorical leadership. Therefore, the overall goal is to learn more about the use of charismatic language during times of crisis.

The American Presidency and Charismatic Rhetorical Leadership

A number of studies have used the charismatic construct to examine particular aspects of the American presidency. Specifically, these studies have examined the relationship between charismatic presidential leadership, presidential effectiveness, and personality characteristics (House, Spangler, & Woycke, 1991; Simonton, 1988), presidential proactivity and performance (Deluga, 1998; House, Woycke, & Fodor, 1988), Machiavellianism (Deluga, 2001), and voter perceptions of charismatic presidential candidates and election outcomes (McCann, 1997; Pillai & Williams, 1998). In addition to these studies, others have analyzed the use of charismatic presidential rhetoric in influencing perceptions of presidential charisma

and greatness (Emrich, Brower, Feldman, & Garland, 2001), developing political strategy (Willner, 1984), bringing about social change (Seyranian & Bligh, forthcoming), responding to crisis situations (Bligh et al. 2004a; 2004b), and identifying presidential leadership styles (Hicks, 2005). Thus, the American presidency has been and shall continue to be a fertile research area for the study of charismatic leadership and the use of rhetoric (crisis or otherwise) to influence the American people.

The Role of Rhetoric in the American Presidency

Using personality traits, Simonton (1988) identified variables that are associated with different presidential leadership styles. As an example, some of the variables most correlated with the charismatic leadership style are: 1) "consciously refines his own public image"; 2) "is charismatic"; 3) "conveys clear-cut, highly visible personality"; 4) "uses rhetoric effectively"; 5) is a "dynamo of energy and determination"; 6) is "characterized by others as a world figure"; and 7) "keeps in contact with the American public and its moods" (p. 931). Each of these distinguishing traits contributes to the followers' perceptions of the President as charismatic. Through rhetoric, the President displays and demonstrates these characteristics. Thus, the American presidency is inextricably linked to the use of rhetoric as it pertains to the leadership position. As Jeffery Tulis (1987) explains, "All presidents exercise their office through the medium of language, written and spoken (p. 3)." Hence, the President's method of communication (speechwriting and speechmaking) is extremely important, and in fact, rhetorical eloquence has even been suggested as a needed skill in order for the President to be considered charismatic (Conger, 1989).

Oratorical spellbinding, as political scientist Ann Ruth Willner (1984) has described charismatic rhetoric, appeals to the follower emotionally (Dorsey, 2002). The message from the President must resonate with the follower in such a way that it incites action on the part of the follower (Emrich et al., 2001). Presidential proactivity has been deemed a common motivating factor that, when combined with the inspirational qualities and the personality of the President, can influence and foster the follower connections to the institutional goals (Deluga, 1998). Presidential Machiavellianism (when viewed as an image of “coolness under pressure”; focused; and able to create a desired image) has also been suggested as an effective strategy for promoting followers to act on behalf of the suggested social cause. Thus, image-building and shaping through rhetoric become a large part of crafting a favored persona that will involve followers and appeal to them considerably (Deluga, 2001). This active engagement of followers’ emotions produces such benefits as influencing followers’ evaluations of presidential charisma and greatness (Emrich et al., 2001), or their voting at elections during times of crisis (McCann, 1997). Hence, the President’s rhetoric is quite important in influencing followers’ opinions about him, particularly since the distance between the President and his/her constituency is great.

The Position of the President and Charismatic Leadership

In their assessment of transformational and charismatic leadership research, Hunt & Conger (1999) maintain that the overwhelming majority of scholars focus on charismatic leadership in top organizational or political positions, such as the United States presidency. However, with charismatic leadership tied so closely to such a high position as the presidency, the question emerges as to how the President, a

distant leader not personally known to the American public, can inspire attributions of charisma in his/her followers. According to Yagil (1998), distant leaders use the expanse in the relationship to project a superhuman image. Thus, followers are unaware of the faults of distant leaders in comparison to close leaders whom they may interact with on a regular basis and with whom they may be quite similar. Perhaps this contradistinction leads to the romantization of the President, thus causing followers to perceive him/her as “larger than life” (Shamir & Howell, 1999).

In addition to the superhuman image, distant leaders like the President are often perceived by their followers as having rhetorical skills and vision (Shamir & Howell, 1999). Distant leaders were also more frequently considered as courageous and socially audacious in expressing their thoughts and opinions without fear of criticism or judgment. Thus, distant leaders may be perceived to be inspirational to the group and have a confidence in the group that appeals to the collective efficacy (Yagil, 1998).

Characteristics of Charismatic Crisis Rhetoric

Crisis rhetoric is defined by Kiewe (1994) as “the discourse initiated by decision makers in an attempt to communicate to various constituents that a certain development is critical and to suggest a certain course of action to remedy the critical situation (p. 17).” In the case of the President, when he/she makes a speech or gives a public address during a crisis, the President is legitimizing the crisis, updating the nation as to the circumstances, and most likely calling on the American people to assist or support the recovery and relief efforts in some way.

Because crises have been so closely linked to the emergence of charismatic leadership, empirical research has recently begun to examine the ways in which crisis rhetoric can be utilized to manifest the attributes of charismatic leadership. Since charismatic leaders have the power to inspire followers to work harder to achieve the mission of the group or to influence social action, the utility of understanding the ways in which presidents can appeal to followers and their motivations is obvious. In a time of national or even international crisis, more often than not, American citizens are needed to perform some action that can positively influence the crisis situation. For example, in the case of the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks, donating money, giving blood, cooperating with the United States Transportation Security Administration guidelines, and rallying behind the nation were just a few of the ways in which American citizens could be called on to mobilize and assist in the recovery efforts.

Shamir, Arthur, and House (1994) used content analysis to explore the extent to which a charismatic leader's rhetoric exhibits characteristics of charismatic leadership. They based their theory upon the motivational effects that charismatic leaders have on their followers (Shamir, House, and Arthur, 1993), such as:

1. Increasing the intrinsic value of effort expended in the pursuit of goals;
2. Increasing the self-efficacy and collective-efficacy perceptions;
3. Increasing the intrinsic value of goal accomplishment;
4. Instilling faith in a better future;
5. Increasing followers' commitment.

Together these motivational effects appeal to the followers' self concepts of self-expression, self-consistency, and the enhancement of self-esteem and self-worth (Shamir et al., 1994). Thus, the characteristics found in the speeches of charismatic leaders tend to incorporate elements that hone in on these motivational effects. The

following characteristics have been found in the speeches of charismatic leaders (Bligh et al., 2004a; Bligh et al., 2004b; Shamir et al., 1994; Tan & Wee, 2002):

1. References to history and tradition.

Charismatic leaders tend to reference their common past with their followers (Shamir et al., 1994). They use this temporal orientation to tie together the past and the present. By focusing on the evolutionary nature of history and bringing present actions and future goals together, the followers experience a sense of meaningfulness of the actions and goals described by the leader.

2. An emphasis on the collective identity.

Charismatic leaders place more emphasis on the collective (Shamir et al., 1994) and place less prominence on the individual. Thus, the charismatic leader will use more inclusive language (Fiol, Harris, & House, 1999) in order to create and crystallize the “common ground” that the followers and the leaders share. This appeal to the followers’ identity is intended to raise the followers’ identity salience and then link the needed action-steps to the identity (Shamir et al., 1994).

3. Reinforcement of the collective efficacy.

Furthering the collective identity, charismatic leaders point out the benefits of joining together and sharing an identity; they mention the strength that comes from working together (Shamir et al., 1994). Various groups may be mentioned by the leader in an attempt to synthesize them and thus build a bond of familiarity and solidarity among the groups (Hicks, 2005).

4. A focus on the leader’s identification with the followers.

Charismatic leaders appeal to their followers by pointing out the similarities in their backgrounds and experiences (Shamir et al., 1994); in other words, they use

the everyman approach (Dorsey, 2002). Specifically, charismatic leaders emphasize their shared qualities and characteristics with their followers by using word choices that place them on the same level, demonstrate familiarity and commonality, or reference human interest topics (Bligh et al., 2004a). In doing so, the leader is building trust with the followers and gaining the followers' acceptance of his/her mission (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir et al. 1994; Tan & Wee, 2002).

5. *References to values and moral justifications.*

Shamir et al. (1994) theorized that charismatic leaders make more references to values and moral justifications than non-charismatic leaders. These references will most likely match or be closely related to the dominant social values of the followers (Shamir & Howell, 1999). By calling upon the followers' value system, the charismatic leader hopes to raise the followers' interest and awareness of the institutional goals by bridging the goals and the actions needed to reach those goals with the motivation of congruent and shared values and morals with the leader.

6. *References to hope and faith.*

According to Shamir et al. (1994), references to hope and faith will be used by charismatic leaders to motivate followers by faith. This type of appeal could encompass the vision of the leader and a glimpse of the future. These references might employ imagery or metaphors to mold the vision of the leader and the faith and hope of the follower together.

7. *References to followers' self-efficacy.*

Charismatic leaders may express confidence in their followers as a whole in order to empower them to work toward the institutional goals (Tan & Wee, 2002). By demonstrating high expectations of the followers, the leader supports the hope

and faith that he/she has instilled in the followers; thus the leader may encourage the followers not to surrender but instead to continue on because they can make it (Shamir et al., 1994). With its emphasis on “staying the course,” this particular characteristic is especially applicable to crisis situations.

Summary and Hypotheses

By replicating and expounding on the Bligh et al. (2004a; 2004b) studies, this thesis will examine presidential crisis rhetoric to determine the extent to which President Bush used charismatic language to lead the American people through the crises of September 11th and Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. Because the Bligh et al. (2004a; 2004b) study was limited to the September 11th crisis, President Bush’s charismatic leadership could have been an example of a leader “rising to the occasion” and simply responding to the crisis, as outlined in the crisis-responsive model (Boal & Bryson, 1988; Hunt, Boal, & Dodge, 1999). This thesis will use a more longitudinal approach to examine the charismatic leadership (or lack thereof) of President Bush in both crisis situations, possibly providing insight into the type of charismatic leadership model that President Bush used.

The specific research questions that this thesis research intends to address include:

1. To what extent did President Bush use charismatic leadership in his major speeches and radio addresses during each of these times of crisis?
2. Did he use more charismatic language during one crisis as compared to the other?

3. Did a high use of charismatic language correlate to the high approval ratings that President Bush experienced during the September 11th crisis?
4. Did a lack of charismatic language during the Hurricane Katrina/Rita crisis explain some of the criticisms that were lodged against President Bush's leadership during the crisis?
5. What can we learn about presidential leadership and charismatic language use during times of crisis?
6. What can we discover about leadership styles as they pertain to crisis situations?

With these research questions serving as an exploratory basis for this thesis research along with the characteristics of charismatic rhetoric as described by the Shamir et al. (1994) and the Bligh et al. (2004a; 2004b) findings, the following hypotheses shall be examined:

Hypothesis 1: In response to the September 11th crisis, the rhetoric of President Bush became more charismatic in comparison to pre-crisis levels.

Hypothesis 2: In response to the Hurricane Katrina crisis, the rhetoric of President Bush became more charismatic in comparison to pre-crisis levels.

CHAPTER TWO METHODS

Content Analysis Overview

Content analysis can be thought of as a family of procedures designed to study and analyze the contents of written passages or transcribed texts (Insch, Moore, & Murphy, 1997). More formally, content analysis can be defined as “a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, *a priori* design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented” (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 10). Due to its flexibility in use, content analysis can be used to examine myriad communications including e-mails, letters, speeches, reports, interview transcripts, websites, newspaper articles, and song lyrics to name a few (Insch et al., 1997).

The multiple uses of the content analysis method has produced research across a number of academic fields including political science (Hart, 1984), business (Den Hartog & Verburg, 1997), psychology (Pennebaker & Lay, 2002), sociology (Chen & Meindl, 1991), and leadership (McCann, 1997). Many researchers have combined the realms of political science and leadership through the use of content analysis. Relevant to this research stream, some of the studies which have used content analysis to research charismatic leadership include House, Spangler, and Woycke’s (1991) study of the inaugural addresses of United States presidents which examined their personality and charismatic leadership; Emrich, Brower, Feldman,

and Garland's (2001) investigation of presidential speeches and their linkages to perceptions of charisma and greatness; and Tan and Wee's (2002) empirical research on the rhetorical content of a Singaporean leader's speeches as it pertains to charismatic leadership. Also, as previously discussed, Bligh et al. (2004a; 2004b), Shamir et al. (1994), and Hicks (2005) all incorporated content analysis into their charismatic leadership research.

Computerized Content Analysis Benefits and Drawbacks

Computerized content analysis offers several benefits methodologically:

1. It allows a blending of both quantitative and qualitative methods within the same study, so content analysis actually quantitatively analyzes qualitative material (Insch et al., 1997).
2. Because the coding is standardized through the use of the computer program, the method is highly reliable and systematic (Bligh et al., 2004a).
3. Due to the detail of the program, it recognizes and distinguishes differences that human coders may not (Bligh et al. 2004a; Morris, 1994).
4. The program provides relatively easy manipulation of texts and the ability to quickly obtain frequencies and counts for dictionaries/passages of interest (Morris, 1994).

Similarly, a number of drawbacks are evident in the computerized content analysis methodology:

1. It takes the complexity out of natural language (Pennebaker & Lay, 2002).

2. It extracts words from their contexts (Bligh et al., 2004b; Insch et al., 1997).
3. The sterility of the analysis does not allow for any higher level creative insights (Bligh et al., 2004a)
4. The researcher has an inability to develop an exhaustive list of dictionary words (Bligh et al., 2004b; Morris, 1994).

In short, as with all research methodologies, computerized content analysis has both its benefits and its drawbacks. However, the uniform coding scheme, the reliability of the method, and the ability to analyze large numbers and sizes of text add some distinct strengths to the methodology, thus making it appealing for this particular type of study.

DICTION Content Analysis Software

DICTION 5.0 is the computerized content analysis program that was utilized to analyze the rhetorical content of President Bush's speeches. This particular software was selected for two reasons: 1) because DICTION was designed specifically to examine the rhetoric of political leaders, and 2) because it provides greater continuity and a better level of comparison between this research and the Bligh et al. (2004a) research which serves as a foundation for this thesis. Also, the program has some special features which make it appropriate and useful within this research. First, DICTION contains 31 dictionaries which total over 10,000 search words, all designed to analyze a text. Second, the program treats homographs by using statistical weighting in an effort to partially account for the context of the words (Hart, 1984). Third, the program allows for the creation of custom

dictionaries, and fourth, the program includes an option to divide texts into 500 word segments.

For this research, the dictionaries were used to create and examine 8 particular constructs which represent concrete examples of the characteristics of charismatic language as identified by Shamir et al. (1994). These constructs include: 1) a temporal orientation, 2) a collective focus, 3) an appeal to followers' worth, 4) similarity to followers, 5) values and moral justifications, 6) tangibility, 7) action, and 8) adversity (Bligh et al., 2004a). The references to temporal orientation and tangibility were divided into two separate constructs in accordance with the procedure delineated by Bligh et al. (2004a). An overview of the creation of these constructs, including the component dictionaries as well as sample words, is found in Table 1 on pages 34 and 35; the variables operationalization section provides additional detail as to the development of these constructs.

Sample

The sample consisted of 124 of President Bush's major speeches and radio addresses which were delivered during the six months preceding and the six months following each crisis. Thus, there were 32 speeches included in the sample from the time period before the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 and 32 speeches from the aftermath of this crisis. Additionally, the sample contained 30 major speeches and radio addresses delivered by President Bush in the months prior to Hurricanes Katrina and Rita as well as 30 speeches from the time period following these devastating natural disasters. The speeches were divided into 500 word segments to control for their relative length. After this procedure, the number of

speeches/speech segments totaled 51 for the pre-September 11th time period, 74 for the post-September 11th time period, 85 for the pre-Hurricane Katrina time period, and 76 for the post-Hurricane Katrina time period. The majority of the speeches ranged in length from 100 to 500 words with a few speeches containing less than 100 words.

A complete listing of the titles, dates, and types of speeches is included in Appendix B. These speeches were obtained from the White House's official website (<http://www.whitehouse.gov>). Each speech was defined as a major speech in this research if it was either termed a major speech according to the White House website or was delivered to a prime time audience with the intention of addressing a large number of Americans (Bligh et al., 2004b). Also, the President's radio addresses which serve as his weekly communications with the American public were included in the analysis. Thus, the sample was representative of the rhetoric of the President as delivered in his speeches to the American public in an array of contexts during the pre- and post-crisis time periods (Bligh et al., 2004a).

Variables Operationalization

The independent variable in this research was the time period in which the speech was delivered by President Bush. Because this research focuses on the influence of crisis on the use of charismatic rhetoric, four time periods encompassing non-crisis as well as crisis situations were included within the scope of the time period variable. In the context of the two major crises relevant to this research, these time periods consisted of pre-September 11th, 2001 (time period 1), post-

September 11th (time period 2), pre-Hurricane Katrina (time period 3), and post-Hurricane Katrina (time period 4).

The dependent variables in this research were the charismatic leadership constructs identified by Shamir et al. (1994). These constructs were developed using the dictionaries included in the DICTION software as well as custom dictionaries. For each construct, the characteristic that the variable was designed to examine and the dictionaries used to create the construct are reviewed below. Each construct was modeled after the Bligh et al. (2004a) methodology used to operationalize these same characteristics. Sample words for each construct are listed in Table 1 on pages 34 and 35, and sample quotations demonstrating the charismatic leadership constructs are included in Appendix C.

Collective Focus

Created to measure emphasis on the collective identity characteristic of charismatic rhetorical leadership (Shamir et al., 1994), the collective focus construct was formed by adding the collectives dictionary score and a custom people references dictionary score, and then subtracting the score for the self-reference dictionary (Bligh et al., 2004a). The collectives dictionary was comprised of singular nouns connoting plurality; words included in this dictionary refer to social groupings, task groups, and geographical entities (DICTION, 2000), while the people references dictionary incorporated words which referred to sociological, political, and generic group designations (Bligh et al., 2004a). In contrast, the self-reference dictionary consisted of first-person references in which the locus of action seemed to be inherent in the speaker rather than in the world at large (DICTION, 2000).

Temporal Orientation

The temporal orientation construct was designed to include the references to history and tradition characteristic of charismatic rhetorical leadership (Shamir et al., 1994). In order to examine this construct within the context of President Bush's speeches, the temporal orientation construct was created by adding the present concern and past concern dictionary scores (Bligh et al., 2004a). The present concern dictionary included present-tense verbs which reference general physical activity, social operations, and task-performance, while the past concern dictionary contained the past-tense forms of the verbs included in the present concern dictionary (DICTION, 2000).

Followers' Worth

The followers' worth construct combined the scores from the praise, inspiration, and satisfaction dictionaries to measure the extent to which the leader appealed to the collective efficacy of the followers (Bligh et al., 2004a). The praise dictionary contained positive adjectives regarding a person, group, or entity; these terms tended to focus on social, physical, intellectual, entrepreneurial, and moral qualities (DICTION, 2000). The inspiration dictionary included terminology related to universally respected abstract virtues such as desirable moral and personal qualities (DICTION, 2000), and the satisfaction dictionary consisted of terms associated with positive affective states, moments of joy, and times of triumph (DICTION, 2000).

Similarity to Followers

The similarity to followers construct was developed to measure the charismatic rhetoric characteristic of the leader's focus on his/her identification with his/her followers (Bligh et al., 2004a). This construct was created by summing the

scores of the leveling, familiarity, and human interest dictionaries. The leveling dictionary consisted of words that ignored individual differences and instead focused on building a sense of completeness and assurance by using totalizing terms, adverbs of permanence, and resolute adjectives (DICTION, 2000). The familiarity dictionary was composed of words that are considered to be the most common in the English language, so these words consisted of common prepositions, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, and a variety of conjunctions and connectives (DICTION, 2000). The human interest dictionary also contained many commonly known and used words such as standard personal pronouns and family and relations terms (DICTION, 2000).

Values and Moral Justifications

According to Shamir et al. (1994), charismatic leaders reference values and moral beliefs more than non-charismatic leaders; hence, the values and moral justifications construct was developed to quantitatively assess this proposition. The values and moral justifications construct was derived by adding the spirituality and patriotic dictionary scores (Bligh et al., 2004a). The custom spirituality dictionary was comprised of “broad-based, Judeo-Christian terminology including value-laden terms and theological constructs” (Bligh et al. 2004a), while the custom patriotic dictionary encompassed standard American nationalistic language such as constitutional and historic terms.

Tangibility

The tangibility construct measured the leader’s goal orientation through the mention of distal and proximal goals and outcomes (Bligh et al., 2004a). This construct was created by adding the score for the concreteness dictionary to the

insistence score and then subtracting the variety score. The concreteness dictionary included words which denote tangibility and materiality. According to the DICTION User's Manual (2000), these words incorporated occupational groups, political alignments, physical structures, entertainment and activities, modes of transportation, articles of clothing, household animals, foodstuffs, and general elements of nature. The insistence score was a measure of code-restriction which was based on the repeated use of a limited number of words (DICTION, 2000), while the variety score was calculated by dividing the number of different words in a passage by the number of total words within that same passage (Bligh et al., 2004a).

Action

Because a charismatic leader inspires his/her followers to achieve the goals of the leader's vision, the rhetoric aimed at mobilizing followers to action was measured by the action construct (Bligh et al., 2004a). This construct was created by adding the scores for the aggression and accomplishment dictionaries and then subtracting the scores for the passivity and ambivalence dictionaries. The aggression dictionary terms focused on activity and competition. Thus, these terms were associated with social domination, goal-directedness, and resistance (DICTION, 2000). The accomplishment dictionary contained words expressing task-completion, organized human behavior, and general functionality (DICTION, 2000). In contrast to the aggression and accomplishment dictionaries, the passivity dictionary included terms of neutrality and inactivity; these words concentrated on compliance, docility, and disinterest (DICTION, 2000). The ambivalence dictionary consisted of words expressing hesitation or uncertainty such as hedges, statements of approximation and confusion, and terms of restrained possibility (DICTION, 2000).

Adversity

The adversity construct was designed to measure the extent to which the leader articulated the penury and discontent of the crisis. The blame, hardship, and denial dictionary scores were summed in order to ascertain the level of adversity references within the speeches of President Bush (Bligh et al., 2004a). According to the DICTION User's Manual (2000), the blame dictionary contained terms that described evil actions, outright denigrations, and unfortunate circumstances, while the hardship dictionary was composed of words referring to natural disasters, unsavory political outcomes, and hostile actions. The denial dictionary consisted of standard negative contractions and terms designating null sets (DICTION, 2000).

Table 1: Component Dictionaries and Sample Words of Charismatic Leadership Constructs

<i>Construct</i>	<i>Dictionaries Included</i>	<i>Sample Words</i>
Collective Focus	Collectives	Assembly, cabinet, humanity, mankind, nation, race, union
	People References	Crowd, residents, constituencies, majority, citizenry, population
	Self-reference	I, I'd, I'll, I'm, I've, me, mine, my, myself
Temporal Orientation	Present Concern	Become, care, desire, make, need, request, take, want
	Past Concern	Became, cared, desired, made, needed, requested, took, wanted
Followers' Worth	Praise	Admirable, brave, delightful, intelligent, kind, lovely, respected
	Inspiration	Ambition, devotion, ideals, leadership, merit, optimism, promise, reassurance
	Satisfaction	Comfort, cherish, delight, fascinate, gratify, laugh, love, pleasure, rejoice

Table 1: Component Dictionaries and Sample Words of Charismatic Leadership Constructs (Continued)

<i>Construct</i>	<i>Dictionaries Included</i>	<i>Sample Words</i>
Similarity to Followers	Leveling	Anybody, everybody, fully, obvious, permanent, totally, unquestionably
	Familiarity	About, between, for, on, past, than, who, with
	Human Interest	Children, family, friends, parents, relatives, widows, yours
Values and Moral Justifications	Spirituality	Charity, church, blessing, eternal, faith, hope, mercy
	Patriotic Terms	Equality, freedom, justice, inalienable, liberty, old-glory
Tangibility	Concreteness	Animal, baseball, cancer, factory, household, movie, school, silk, sugar
	Insistence	Score calculated based on repetition of key terms
	Variety	Score calculated by dividing the number of different words in a passage by the number of total words
Action	Aggression	Attack, challenge, combat, dominate, furious, hurt, kill, oppose, preempt
	Accomplishment	Achieve, aspire, create, finish, motivate, pursuit, resolution, succeed
	Passivity	Accept, acquiesce, complacent, disinterested, hesitate, lackadaisical
	Ambivalence	Blur, confound, hesitate, puzzle, quandary, vacillate, wonder
Adversity	Blame	Contemptible, desperate, guilty, incompetent, mediocre, rash, senile
	Hardship	Conflict, crisis, death, fear, insecurity, loss, outrage, sorrow, tension
	Denial	Didn't, hadn't, never, wasn't, wouldn't

Statistical Analyses

The hypotheses were tested using a one-way multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA). This statistical test was chosen for three reasons. First, because part of this study replicates the work of Bligh et al. (2004a; 2004b), the MANCOVA, which was selected by the aforementioned scholars, was used in this research as well in order to compare the results of this thesis to those already published. Second, the MANCOVA was the appropriate statistical technique given that there was one categorical independent variable (time period), eight continuous dependent variables (the charismatic rhetoric variables), and two covariates (the total number of words and the number of different words in each speech segment) to be entered in the analysis. The covariates were entered into the analysis as an effort to control for the differences in the speech lengths. Third, the MANCOVA allowed comparison between groups to discern whether the groups were statistically different on the dependent variables when they were considered together.

However, because MANCOVA produces a number of separate analyses when considering each dependent variable and its overall contribution or lack thereof to the differences in the groups, the Bonferroni adjustment was applied. Thus, the Bonferroni adjustment effectively reduced the chance of a Type 1 error (concluding that there is a statistically significant result when there is not one) by making the alpha level more conservative (Pallant, 2005). With an adjusted alpha level, the probability value required to be considered statistically significant was notably smaller.

Next, the hypotheses were examined using a one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). The MANOVA was used to compare the time periods when

the effects of the covariates were not considered within the analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Again, the MANOVA included a single independent variable (time period) and the eight continuous dependent variables which gauge the characteristics of charismatic rhetoric. Also, the Bonferroni adjustment was utilized in this analysis as a way of accurately assessing the probability of a Type 1 error.

Finally, a one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to determine whether the four time periods differ on each of the charismatic rhetoric variables. Post-hoc tests which employed Bonferroni multiple comparisons examined specifically where the differences between the time periods were for each of the charismatic rhetoric variables.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

The means, standard deviations, and number of speeches (or speech segments) included in the sample for each of the constructs are listed by time period in Table 2 on page 45. Taken together, these descriptive statistics provide an overview of the sample and the degree to which President Bush utilized the rhetoric which is measured by each charismatic construct. In this chapter, the results of the hypothesis tests are presented; these tests explore whether President Bush's pre-crisis rhetoric was statistically different from his post-crisis rhetoric during both of the crises of interest in this research. Also, the results of additional tests which compare the rhetoric of the two post-crisis time periods are included, and finally, the post-hoc analyses which examine the charismatic rhetoric constructs across all four time periods are reported.

Hypothesis Testing

Because an ANOVA was performed with post-hoc tests so as to allow for specific comparisons of the charismatic rhetoric variables with the four different time periods, the MANOVA results will be presented. However, for purposes of comparison and completeness, the MANCOVA results are included in Appendix D.

Hypothesis 1: Differences in the Presidential Rhetoric of September 11th, 2001

A one-way between-groups multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine whether there were significant differences in the rhetoric of President Bush's speeches and major addresses during time period 1

(pre-September 11th crisis) as compared to time period 2 (post-September 11th crisis). The eight variables designed to measure the characteristics of charismatic language were included as dependent variables, and the time period served as the independent variable. In order to reduce the variability due to the different speech lengths, the speeches were divided into 500 word segments. Overall, the MANOVA revealed a statistically significant difference between the two time periods on the combined dependent variables, Wilk's Λ =.656, $F(8, 116)=7.59$, $p<.001$. Additionally, the MANCOVA results mirrored those of the MANOVA. Thus, hypothesis 1 was supported.

When the dependent variables were considered separately, the only variables that reached statistical significance within the MANOVA, using a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .006, were tangibility, $F(1, 123)=12.56$, $p=.001$, and adversity, $F(1, 123)=26.98$, $p<.001$. According to the partial eta squared for these two variables (.093 and .180, respectively), about 27% of the variance in these variables can be explained by the time period variable. Examination of the nonadjusted means indicated that the differences between the time periods were most likely due to the President's decreased use of rhetoric focusing on tangible and immediate affairs (time period 1 $M=88.61$, time period 2 $M=58.21$) and to the President's increased use of rhetoric focusing on the hardship and adversity of the situation (time period 1 $M=8.63$, time period 2 $M=16.13$).

Hypothesis 2: Differences in the Presidential Rhetoric of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita

To test hypothesis 2, another MANOVA was used to examine whether there were significant differences in President Bush's charismatic rhetorical language use during time period 3 (pre-Hurricane Katrina) as compared to time period 4 (post-

Hurricane Katrina). The eight charismatic rhetoric variables were included in the analysis as dependent variables while the independent variable was the time period. Again, the speeches were separated into 500 word segments to reduce the variability of the different speech lengths. According to the MANOVA results, there was a statistically significant difference between the two time periods on the combined dependent variables, Wilk's $\Lambda = .885$, $F(8,152) = 2.467$, $p = .015$. The MANCOVA results also support the conclusions derived from the MANOVA. Hence, hypothesis 2 was supported.

When an alpha level of .05 was used, the collective focus [$F(1, 159) = 5.27$, $p = .023$] and temporal orientation [$F(1, 159) = 4.98$, $p = .027$] variables reached statistical significance. The effect size was moderate for these variables with about 6% of the variance in these variables being explained by the time period in which the speech occurred. However, an examination of each of the dependent variables revealed that none of the variables were statistically significant after the Bonferroni adjustment, $\alpha = .006$, was applied. So while there were significant differences in President Bush's charismatic rhetoric prior to the Hurricane Katrina crisis as compared to the aftermath of the crisis, the MANOVA tests of between-subjects effects did not sufficiently reveal which variables most likely influenced the variance between these time periods.

Additional Analyses

A MANOVA was performed to investigate whether there were significant differences in President Bush's post-crisis rhetoric. Hence, time periods 2 (post-September 11th crisis) and 4 (post-Hurricane Katrina) were compared in the analysis.

Once more the eight charismatic rhetoric constructs were included as dependent variables, and the time period was the independent variable. Overall, the MANOVA revealed a statistically significant difference between the two post-crisis time periods on the combined dependent variables, Wilk's $\Lambda=.793$, $F(8, 141)=4.59$, $p<.001$, and the MANCOVA results corroborate those of the MANOVA.

When the dependent variables were inspected individually, the tangibility variable, $F(1, 148)=22.82$, $p=.001$), was the only variable that reached statistical significance within the MANOVA, using a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .006. However, the partial eta squared for this variable was relatively large, indicating that 13.4% of the variance associated with this variable can be explained by the time period variable. An examination of the nonadjusted means for the tangibility variable during each of the post-crisis time periods indicated that the differences between the time periods were most likely due to the President's increased use of rhetoric referencing precise and concrete outcomes during the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina as compared to the time period following the September 11th crisis (time period 2 $M=58.21$, time period 4 $M=95.32$).

Post Hoc Analyses

A one-way between groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to explore President Bush's charismatic language use (as measured by the eight dependent variables) over the four time periods. The sample was divided into the same four time periods which were used in the previous analyses. These time periods correspond to the delivery date of the speeches and radio addresses and the relevant crises of interest. Accordingly, the time periods are organized as follows:

time period 1 (pre-September 11th crisis); time period 2 (post-September 11th crisis); time period 3 (pre-Hurricane Katrina); and time period 4 (post-Hurricane Katrina).

With the purpose of dealing with a potentially inflated Type I error rate, only the results from the ANOVA which are equal to or less than the Bonferroni-adjusted alpha of .006 will be reported. Hence, there were statistically significant differences in the following four charismatic rhetoric variables between the time periods: collective focus [$F(3,282)=4.81, p=.003$], tangibility [$F(3,282)=8.35, p<.001$], action [$F(3,282)=4.26, p=.006$], and adversity [$F(3,282)=11.251, p<.001$]. The F ratios and probability notes for all of the ANOVA tests along with the means, standard deviation, and number of cases per time period are included in Table 3.

All of the post-hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni test are contained in Appendix E on pages 79-81. For the four variables which reached statistical significance at the Bonferroni-adjusted alpha of .006, the comparisons are reported within this results section. Thus, the significant difference in the collective focus variable was found to be between the mean scores for time periods 1 ($M=2.72, SD=9.46$) and 4 ($M=9.22, SD=7.84$). Time periods 2 and 3 did not differ significantly from either time period. Using the means of the charismatic rhetoric variables, the line graphs represented in Figures 1-8 on pages 46-49 provide a visual depiction of the changes in President Bush's charismatic language over the four time periods. As demonstrated by Figure 1, there was a slight increase in the collective focus variable across all the time periods, meaning that President Bush's references to the collective and use of group-oriented language continued to rise over the time periods studied.

For the tangibility variable, time period 2 was found to be significantly different from all of the other time periods. The mean score for time period 2 was 58.21 while the means for the other time periods ranged from 83.70 to 95.32. However, time periods 1, 3, and 4 when compared to each other were not unusual and did not differ statistically. The line graph in Figure 6 indicates that President Bush's references to proximal goals decreased considerably during the post-September 11th crisis and then continued to increase over time periods 3 and 4. Interestingly, the mean for President Bush's references to immediate and tangible matters was highest at time period 4.

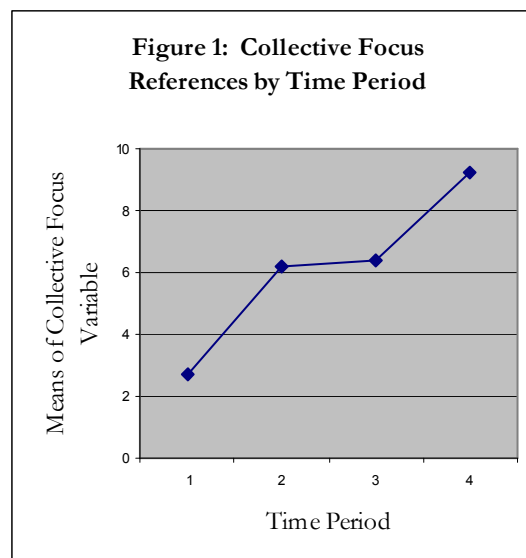
The mean score for the action variable for time period 1 ($M=5.91$, $SD=11.32$) was found to be significantly different from the mean scores for time periods 3 ($M=13.22$, $SD=12.17$) and 4 ($M=13.25$, $SD=11.71$). The trend according to the line graph in Figure 7 shows an increase in the President's use of aggressive and accomplishment-oriented language from time period 1 to time period 3, and there was a slight decrease in the President's active language during time period 4. Time periods 2, 3, and 4 did not differ greatly from each other in their active rhetoric according to the mean differences between them.

Table 2: Analysis of Variance Results of Charismatic Rhetoric Variables by Time Period

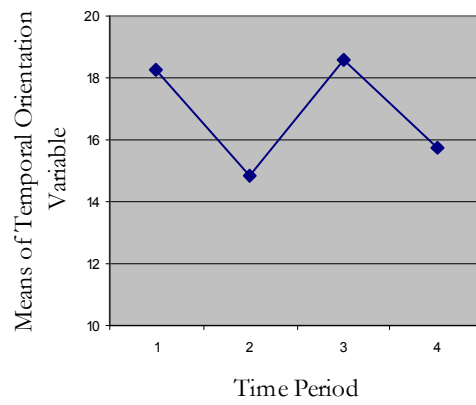
<i>Variable</i>	<i>Time Period 1</i>	<i>Time Period 2</i>	<i>Time Period 3</i>	<i>Time Period 4</i>	<i>F</i>
Collective Focus					4.811**
Mean	2.722	6.189	6.381	9.223	
<i>SD</i>	9.461	12.345	7.839	7.838	
Temporal Orientation					3.849**
Mean	18.266	14.862	18.568	15.749	
<i>SD</i>	9.734	6.498	8.602	7.270	
Followers' Worth					3.730**
Mean	26.676	29.058	24.244	22.691	
<i>SD</i>	11.659	18.513	7.688	9.728	
Similarity to Followers					1.535
Mean	162.950	167.559	169.242	163.650	
<i>SD</i>	22.382	24.113	19.027	17.092	
Values and Moral Justifications					8.351**
Mean	88.647	108.878	102.635	116.342	
<i>SD</i>	45.472	56.923	50.093	48.684	
Tangibility					.262***
Mean	88.607	58.205	83.694	95.317	
<i>SD</i>	55.228	40.693	43.777	53.411	
Action					11.251**
Mean	5.909	11.771	13.217	13.250	
<i>SD</i>	11.318	15.171	12.169	11.708	
Adversity					3.221***
Mean	8.632	16.127	10.789	12.315	
<i>SD</i>	5.054	9.403	6.592	8.162	
<i>N</i>	51	74	85	76	

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

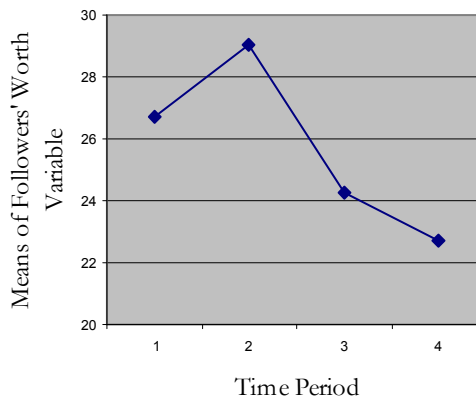
The largest number of differences between the time periods according to the post-hoc comparisons was in the references to adversity. The mean score for time period 1 ($M= 8.63$, $SD=5.05$) was significantly different from the mean scores for time periods 2 ($M=16.13$, $SD=9.40$) and 4 ($M=12.32$, 8.16). Additionally, the mean for time period 2 was found to be statistically significant when compared to the means for time periods 1, 3, and 4. Thus, the line graph according to Figure 8 indicates that the overall trend for President Bush's references to hardship and adversity follows a polynomial shape which starts out low at time period 1, then almost doubles after the September 11th crisis, followed by a decrease in the months prior to Hurricane Katrina, and then a slight increase during the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.



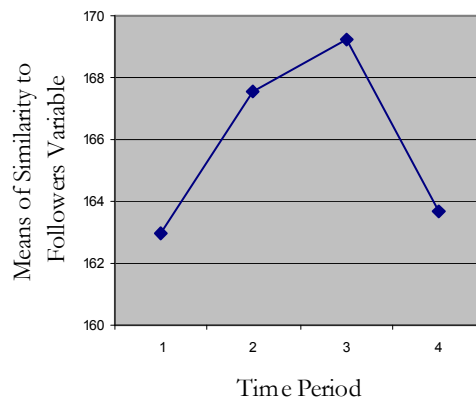
**Figure 2: Temporal Orientation
References by Time Period**

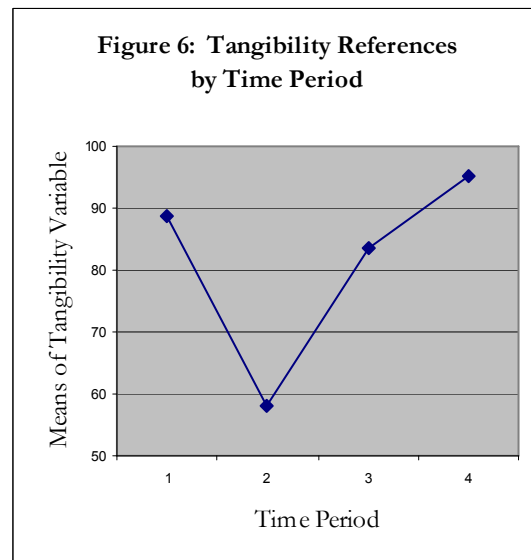
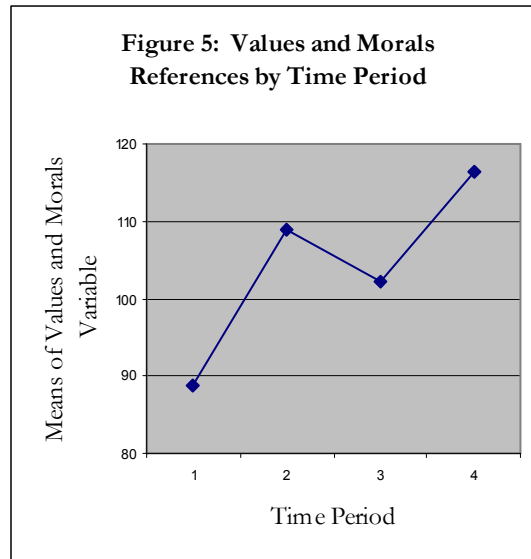


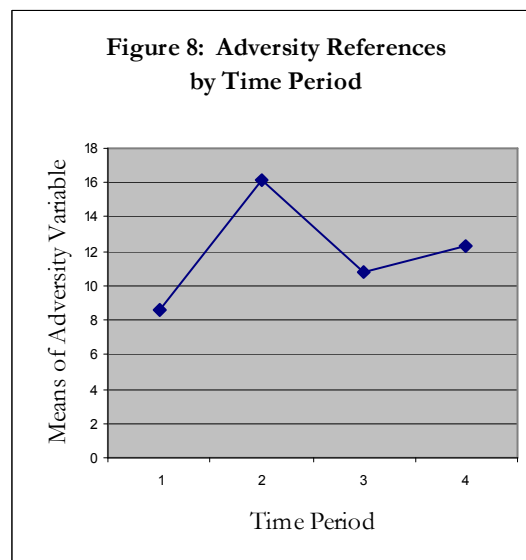
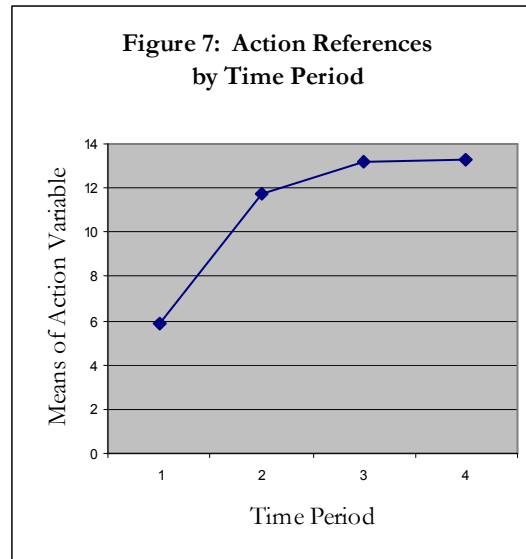
**Figure 3: Followers' Worth
References by Time Period**



**Figure 4: Similarity to Followers
References by Time Period**







CHAPTER FOUR DISCUSSION

Overall, the results from this replication study support those derived from the research of Bligh et al. (2004a; 2004b). More specifically, President Bush's rhetoric became more charismatic after the September 11th crisis in comparison to pre-crisis levels. These results also provide evidence that the same pattern occurred in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. However, the differences in the charismatic rhetoric variables when compared after both crises were not as marked for the post-Hurricane Katrina time period. Interestingly, for several of the charismatic rhetoric variables which increased post-September 11th, many of them did not quite return to the pre-September 11th levels when examined during the pre-Hurricane Katrina time period. Thus, when the Hurricane Katrina crisis occurred, the increases in charismatic crisis rhetoric were not as apparent due to the relatively elevated post-September 11th levels.

In regards to the patterns which emerged among the charismatic rhetoric variables, two findings warrant additional comment. As demonstrated in Figure 1, the values and moral justifications variable clearly followed the expected polynomial curve for each of the crisis time periods. That is, the number of President Bush's references to spiritual and patriotic terms was lower prior to September 11th, higher after September 11th, then lower again, and finally higher after Hurricane Katrina. Yet, the tangibility references when plotted on the line graph seemed to be a mirror image of the values and moral justifications variable. President Bush's rhetoric prior to September 11th included approximately the same amount of references to values

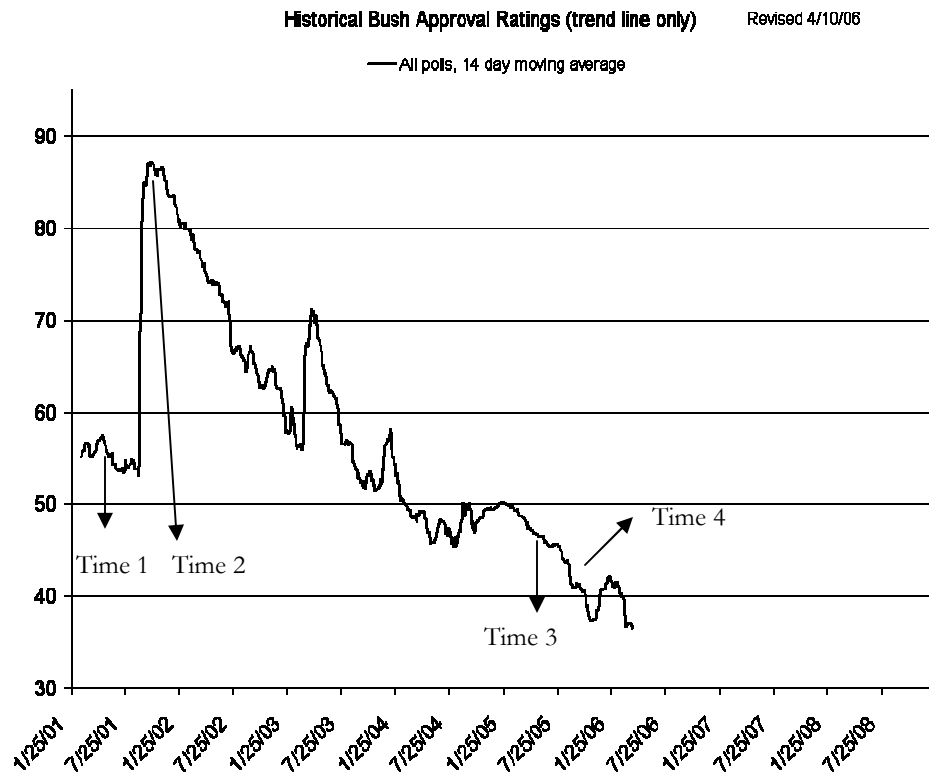
and morals as it did to tangible outcomes. After September 11th, the number of words denoting tangibility and materiality greatly decreased; this reduction was expected since a low score on this variable is associated with higher levels of charisma. Also as expected, during the pre-Hurricane Katrina time period the levels of tangibility language in President Bush's rhetoric increased. However, during the post-Hurricane Katrina time period, the results for the same variable were contrary to the anticipated direction in that the tangibility mean reached its highest during this time period. So not only did President Bush's references to values and morals increase during time period 4, so did his references to tangible, concrete outcomes. The previously mentioned increased charismatic rhetoric during the pre-Hurricane Katrina time period may have perhaps affected the tangibility variable. Potential factors influencing the charismatic rhetoric levels are expounded in following paragraphs.

Because the rhetorical leadership of President Bush did change and increase in charisma following each of the crises, Boal and Bryson's (1988) crisis-responsive model may adequately describe the charismatic rhetorical leadership of President Bush. In general, President Bush's rhetoric followed a polynomial shape which increased in charisma in the aftermath of a crisis and then decreased (at least slightly) as the stress and hardship of the crisis began to subside. According to the follower assessment of President Bush's leadership during the September 11th crisis, the public approval ratings of George W. Bush's handling of his job as President rose by an average of 16 percentage points (Bligh et al., 2004a). With such a large increase putting his job approval ratings between 80 and 90 percent, President Bush's success in dealing with the September 11th crisis was evident as gauged by the American

people. Figure 9 on page 54 shows the trend line for the historical approval ratings of President Bush throughout his two terms in office (Ruggles, 2006). As shown in this figure, after the spike during the September 11th crisis, the President's approval ratings gradually decreased. These approval ratings, which reflect the followers' opinions and appraisal of the President's leadership, mirror the President's increased use of charismatic rhetoric. Hence, both the President's rhetoric and the followers' sentiments regarding the way in which the President dealt with the crisis seemed to be more crisis-responsive.

An examination of the high approval ratings for President Bush's response to the September 11th crisis revealed that he was certainly successful and most likely could have been called charismatic during that time period. The mean scores for the charismatic rhetoric variables during the pre-Hurricane Katrina time period indicated that President Bush's rhetoric did not return to pre-September 11th levels. This increased usage of charismatic rhetoric could be due to the fact that other major crisis or stress situations had developed during the time period between these crises. For example, Operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom have been ongoing "wars" which stemmed in part as a response to the September 11th terrorist attacks; thus, the President's rhetoric referring to these military operations was most likely more active, referencing the goal-directedness and the accomplishments of the military throughout the duration of these Operations. This increased use of active language probably influenced the extent to which the President's charismatic rhetoric returned to pre-September 11th crisis levels, and it assumably bolstered the pre- and post-Hurricane Katrina mean scores on the action variable.

Figure 9: Trend Line for Historical Approval Ratings of President Bush (Ruggles, 2006)



According to Weber (1947; 1968), in order for a leader to be considered charismatic, the leader has to have repeated successes. Because President Bush's rhetoric did not return to pre-September 11th charismatic levels, it is feasible to consider that, in addition to his rhetoric being influenced by the presence of additional crises and hence punctuated by increased charismatic language, perhaps President Bush's charismatic rhetoric did not decrease or change intentionally. President Bush was most likely considered to be charismatic post-September 11th. Therefore, it is possible that he intended to capitalize on his new charismatic image and in his communications with the American public tried to recreate the charismatic

attributions that he received after September 11th by incorporating the same elements into his speeches. The President may have potentially used the rhetoric that was successful in sparking attributions that he was a charismatic leader with the purpose of continuing to foster these attributions. However, by looking at his approval ratings longitudinally as well as considering the events which have occurred throughout his presidency, even if President Bush's charismatic rhetoric didn't change following the time period during which he was considered to be the most charismatic, the context in which he used the charismatic rhetoric did change.

The interactional leadership paradigm takes into account the leader, the follower, and situation in such a way that leadership is viewed as a function of the interaction of these three elements (Hughes, Ginnett, & Curphy, 2006). The leader, in this case President Bush, brings to the situation his unique history, personality, and experiences which influence his actions, while the followers also have certain expectations as to what constitutes leadership. Together, the leader and the followers affect the others' decisions and actions. Yet, the context in which the leadership occurs punctuates the actions of the leader and the interpretations as well as the presumptions of the followers. In the case of a crisis situation, these components factor into the determination of whether a leader is charismatic or not. For example, the September 11th crisis presented a different situation (outside the status quo of the first nine months of George W. Bush's presidency) to both the President and the American citizenry. This situation warranted a change in the behaviors (including the rhetoric) of the President, and these particular behaviors were most likely expected by the followers (Conger & Kanungo, 1987). Thus, the President's charismatic rhetoric was probably the result of the situation (going back

to the crisis-responsive model of charisma) as well an effort to interact with the followers, connect with them, and take into account their expectations, beliefs, and responses to the situation.

With the interactional framework leadership paradigm serving as a lens through which to examine the charismatic leadership of President, the context in which the President's speeches were delivered makes a difference. In studying the levels of charismatic rhetoric following each of the crises, the type of crisis and how that type may have affected the rhetoric of the President as well as the followers' perceptions of the crisis must be considered. For example, the September 11th crisis was quite different from that of the Hurricane Katrina crisis in several ways. The September 11th crisis was an attack on the United States through multiple, coordinated acts of terrorism, whereas Hurricane Katrina was a natural disaster. The scope of the crises was quite different as well. While the September 11th crisis was isolated to the World Trade Center in New York City, the Pentagon in Washington, D. C., and the crash site of the United 93 flight outside Shanksville, Pennsylvania, Hurricane Katrina devastated many parts of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

The crises were also very different in the ways in which they were emotionally processed by the American constituency. The feelings of shock and alarm which are inherent in terrorist attacks were present after the September 11th crisis and were followed by the sorrow, disbelief, and pain of lost loved ones and compassion and concern for those assisting with the relief efforts. Unfortunately, the sentiments which the American constituency experienced during the Hurricane Katrina crisis were still those of shock and alarm, but for different reasons. The

American public was disheartened and angry as the events of Hurricane Katrina unfolded. The lack of organization and timeliness in the relief response caused many to criticize the way in which the President dealt with the Hurricane Katrina crisis. For instance, while the President's approval ratings may have stalled in their decline temporarily during the immediate time period surrounding the crisis, the overall job approval of President Bush's term in office following the Hurricane Katrina crisis continued to fall steadily.

Because leadership is a relational process which includes the leader and the followers, the emotional involvement that the followers have concerning the crisis cannot be ignored. In the cases of the crises examined in this research, most likely the followers had different levels and types of emotional involvement pertaining to these crises. Perhaps the most evident of the divergence in the way in which these crises were experienced by the American public was the emergence of a unifying patriotism that so many Americans experienced during the time period following September 11th. This type of uniting emotional response was nonexistent during the Hurricane Katrina crisis.

Considering the implications of the leader, follower, situation interaction is particularly prudent and important when the definition of charismatic leadership is revisited. As stated previously, charismatic leaders engage their followers in such a way that the followers are intent on achieving the mission articulated by the leader to the point of considering the collective interests over their own self-interests (House & Shamir, 1993). The leader's communications regarding the crisis have the potential to shape the ways in which followers assess the crisis and emotionally process it. When the goal of charismatic rhetoric is to encourage followers to pursue

the good of the group, then the content of the leader's message must also be taken into account. According to Shamir et al. (1993), leaders should incorporate into their communications rhetoric aimed at increasing the followers' intrinsic valence of effort and goal accomplishment as well as instilling faith in a better future. These elements of the leader's message appeal to and motive the followers. The degree to which the leader employs rhetoric which is more charismatic in nature will determine the level to which the follower internalizes the leader's message. Because of the types of crisis and the emotional processing that occurred following Hurricane Katrina, it is possible that the leader-follower relationship was not actualized according to the definition of charismatic leadership in the way that it was following the September 11th crisis since the follower response to the leader's mission was so different from what it was during the September 11th crisis. In a crisis situation such as Hurricane Katrina, the leader must spark follower commitment to his/her goals. Yet, the leader must take into account the followers' experience of the crisis. In the case of Hurricane Katrina, had President Bush more adequately communicated his message so that it became meaningful to the followers, then he may have had more success with inspiring the followers to conjointly work for social change within the situation.

The role of speechwriters in the creation of the President's message and communications to the American public certainly needs to be recognized and taken into account when assessing the rhetorical charismatic leadership of the President. However, due to the distance between the President and the American constituency, "it is the symbolic words and images that a leader is able to evoke that are largely responsible for subsequent charismatic or non-charismatic attributions, regardless of who crafted them" (Bligh et al., 2004a, p. 229). Thus, the words of the leader are

what become most important when the distance between the leader and follower is great. The followers perceptions of these words and their ability to inspire are what matter when followers assess whether the leader is charismatic or not.

Limitations

It is very difficult to measure a complex construct such as charisma. Therefore, findings relating to the study of this construct as it relates to rhetorical leadership must be examined critically. First, while there is a correlation for an increased charismatic relationship between the President and his constituents, other causes could be affecting the leader-follower relationship. These might include economic conditions, the media coverage of crises, the track record of the leader, and the existence of other crises and stressful situations during the same time period. Therefore, these outside influences cannot fully be accounted for in the analysis, and they cannot be ruled out as contributing to the development of the charismatic relationship between the leader and his followers.

Second, if the emergence of charisma is truly bound to the presence of a crisis, then how long can attributions of charisma linger after the occurrence of a major crisis? In other words, what is the shelf life for charismatic leadership when it is crisis-responsive? Without having a clearer sense as to the length of time that charismatic crisis leadership lasts, then it is difficult to determine the true reasons for the decline of charismatic rhetoric. Additionally, the amount of charismatic leadership that can be ascribed to the natural curve of the crisis-responsive pattern is blurred, causing problems in the measurement and understanding of the presence of charismatic crisis rhetoric during crises.

Third, since crises are socially constructed and defined, the importance of a crisis varies among both leaders and followers. Since a particular incident or hazard may be interpreted as a crisis by one person and not by another, or though it may have a distinct salience in one case but not another, understanding which messages have meaning and their motivational effects on followers is difficult to determine. The idiosyncrasies of appealing to followers, inciting them to action, and encouraging them to work toward social change are complex when the leader is attempting to convey a message that captures followers with a range of definitions of the crisis. Also, determining through the rhetoric of the leader the seriousness to which he/she ascribes to the crisis may be vexing since the leader's communications will be centered on inspiring followers. At the same time, the leader may not define the crisis as seriously as others but his/her feelings are masked by his/her message.

Other factors related to the sample and the analysis of the speeches have influenced the results of this study. Because George W. Bush is the only leader included in this study, a lack of independence exists in the sample. Thus, there is no benchmark to which to compare the results from the charismatic rhetoric variables at the different time periods. Additionally, this lack of independence in the sample causes the error terms to be correlated. In order to correct for these limitations stemming from the study design, the Bonferroni adjustment was applied using an alpha of .006. Using this alpha level produced more conservative results and was beneficial in reducing the chance of making a Type 1 error.

Future Research Directions

Since the research involving charismatic rhetorical leadership has developed relatively recently, the theoretical as well as the methodological implications for this type of research are still being formulated. Yet, additional research in this area could add to the growing body of knowledge by taking into account the leader's delivery of the speeches and the followers' impressions of both the delivery and the content of the speeches. In general, the role of the follower in the charismatic leadership model needs to be explored in greater detail so that better ways of assessing the followers' opinions of the leader's charisma are developed. Additionally, expanding the number of leaders who are included in the analysis will provide information regarding a baseline level of charismatic rhetorical leadership as well as a pattern for the curve of crisis-responsive charismatic leadership at different time periods prior to and after crises. Finally, incorporating a strictly qualitative component into a study like this will provide a richness of data regarding the role of the leader's track record in inspiring followers and sparking attributions of charisma.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This research examined the rhetorical content of President Bush's speeches and radio addresses to investigate his levels of charismatic crisis leadership during the time periods preceding and following the two major crises of his presidency: the September 11th terrorist attacks and Hurricane Katrina. Overall, several factors complicate the assessment of whether President Bush was a charismatic leader during these two time periods. The results from this study indicate that President Bush's charismatic rhetoric was crisis-responsive. This means that during periods of crisis, the levels of charisma contained in his speeches increased. During the September 11th crisis, the increase in his charismatic rhetoric was large, which supports prior research conducted on this subject. However, during the Hurricane Katrina crisis, President Bush's charismatic rhetoric also rose, but the increase was not as marked.

This research expands the current literature on charismatic leadership because it investigated more longitudinally the relationship of charismatic leadership as it pertains to crisis situations. Also, this research meshes the interaction framework leadership paradigm as described by Hughes, Ginnett, and Curphy (2006) into the charismatic leadership paradigm. By integrating these two paradigms, a more complete and accurate picture of charismatic leadership during crisis situations will emerge as additional research sews these paradigms together. This confluence of paradigms provides leaders with greater knowledge as to how to inspire and motivate their followers to take action and work toward social change during a crisis situation.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Major Components of the Relevant Leadership Paradigms

<i>Paradigm</i>	<i>Major Components/Definitions</i>	<i>Common Characteristics of the Leader</i>
Transformational Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A mutual transformational effect occurs between the leader and his/her followers. The leader engages the followers in his/her mission and encourages them to higher levels of motivation and morality. The followers then have a transforming effect on the leader because of their goal achievement and progress toward becoming a moral leader (Burns, 1978). • Transformational leadership is comprised of four factors which influence the follower: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Idealized influence (which may include charismatic qualities); 2. Inspirational motivation; 3. Intellectual stimulation; 4. Individualized consideration (Bass, 1985; Avolio, Waldman, & Yammarino, 1991). 	<p>According to James MacGregor Burns (1978), transformational leaders are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inspiring; • uplifting; • and mobilizing.
Transactional Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exchange between the leader and his/her followers serves as a self-interested framework (Bass, 1990a). 	<p>Transactional leaders tend to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • use goals and rewards to motivate followers; • and fail to develop strong relationships with followers (Hughes, Ginnett, & Curphy, 2006).

Appendix A: Major Components of the Relevant Leadership Paradigms (Continued)

<i>Paradigm</i>	<i>Major Components/ Definitions</i>	<i>Common Characteristics of the Leader</i>
Authoritarian Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The leader is focused on completing the necessary tasks (Bass, 1990a). • Usually the leader makes decisions him/herself and is rarely concerned with the needs or opinions of the followers (Bass, 1990a). 	<p>Authoritative leaders tend to be:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • directive (Bass & Barrett, 1981); • coercive and persuasive (Bass, 1960); • and performance-focused (Misumi, 1985).
Democratic Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The leader is relationship-oriented (Bass, 1990a). • When making decisions, the leader solicits the advice and opinions of his/her followers. In fact, the leader may even share decision-making power with followers (Bass, 1990a). • The leader works to foster and support interaction between him/herself and the followers (Bass, 1990a). 	<p>Democratic leaders are thought of as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • consultative and participative (Bass, 1976); • permissive (Bass, 1960); • and concerned with maintaining good working relations (Misumi, 1985).
Laissez-faire Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The leader tends to be inactive and gives little guidance to his/her followers (Bradford & Lippitt, 1945). • Decision-making responsibilities are cast onto the followers because the leader is so hands-off (Bradford & Lippitt, 1945). 	<p>According to Bradford and Lippitt's (1945) description, laissez-faire leaders:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lack confidence; • evade their responsibilities; • and fail to set goals.

Appendix A: Major Components of the Relevant Leadership Paradigms (Continued)

<i>Paradigm</i>	<i>Major Components/Definitions</i>	<i>Common Characteristics of the Leader</i>
Situational Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based on the follower's maturity (including job and psychological maturity) level and whether the leader is task-oriented or relationship-oriented, the leader adjusts his/her leadership style to accommodate the situation (Hersey & Blanchard, 1969). • Thus, the leader's prescribed behavior toward the follower is either: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Telling-because of low follower maturity, the leader should have a high task orientation; 2. Selling-because of low follower maturity, the leader should exhibit both a high relationship orientation and a high task orientation; 3. Participating-because of high follower maturity, the leader should focus on a high relationship orientation; 4. Delegating-because of high follower maturity, the leader can have a low task orientation as well as a low relationship orientation (Hersey & Blanchard, 1969). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The actions of the leader vary depending on the situation; thus no specific description of the characteristics of the situational leader can be given outside of the prescribed leadership behaviors.

Appendix A: Major Components of the Relevant Leadership Paradigms (Continued)

<i>Paradigm</i>	<i>Major Components/Definitions</i>	<i>Common Characteristics of the Leader</i>
Interactional Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership is viewed as “a function of three elements—the leader, the followers, and the situation” (Hughes, Ginnett, & Curphy, 2006, p. 24). • Using the three elements, the framework examines the interactions between them to determine how each element may be influencing the others (Hughes, Ginnett, & Curphy, 2006). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No specific characterizations can be summarized since the leader’s actions are affected by the followers and the situation. • However, the interactional framework does recognize that the leader’s individual and unique history, personality, and leadership experiences influence the leader’s actions (Hughes, Ginnett, & Curphy, 2006).
Charismatic Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiple theoretical paradigms can and have been applied to charismatic leadership including: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the Weberian conceptualization; 2. the behavioral perspective; 3. and the transformational elements of charismatic leadership. • Most charismatic leadership paradigms hold that the leader has qualities, traits, or behaviors that are different from those of their followers, thus making them seem extraordinary in some way (Weber, 1947; Weber, 1968; Bass, 1988). 	<p>Conger and Kanungo (1988) maintain that charismatic leaders are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emotionally expressive; • strongly articulate; • visionary; • and risk-takers. <p>While Northouse (2004) describes charismatic leaders as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dominant; • and confident.

Appendix B: Speeches Included in the Sample (Pre-September 11th Crisis; Time Period 1)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Speech Title</i>	<i>Type of Speech</i>
3/3/01	Federal Budget/Tax Relief	RA
3/10/01	House Passage of Tax Relief Plan	RA
3/17/01	Tax Relief Plan	RA
3/24/01	Federal Budget	RA
3/31/01	Health and Education for American Children	RA
4/7/01	Education/Tax Reform	RA
4/14/01	Easter Greetings	RA
4/21/01	Democracy in Western Hemisphere	RA
4/28/01	Progress over First 100 Days	RA
5/5/01	Cinco de Mayo	RA
5/12/01	Energy Plan	RA
5/19/01	Energy Plan	RA
5/26/01	Remembrance of Memorial Day	RA
6/2/01	Passage of Tax Plan	RA
6/8/01	Homeownership	RA
6/11/01	President Addresses Global Climate Change	PA
6/13/01	Remarks at Opening of the NATO Meeting	PA
6/16/01	Father's Day Message	RA
6/23/01	Patients' Bill of Rights	RA
6/30/01	Department of Defense	RA
7/7/01	Education	RA
7/14/01	Medicare	RA
7/21/01	G-7/G-8 Summit	RA
7/28/01	Americans with Disabilities Act	RA
8/4/01	Medicaid Reform	RA
8/9/01	Remarks on Stem Cell Research	PA
8/11/01	Stem Cell Research	RA
8/18/01	Faith-based and Community Initiatives	RA
8/25/01	Budget	RA
9/1/01	Education Reform	RA
9/7/01	President Voices Concern over Economy	PA
9/8/01	Education	RA

Note: RA=Radio Address; M=Major Speech; PA=Public Address

Appendix B: Speeches Included in the Sample (Post-September 11th Crisis; Time Period 2)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Speech Title</i>	<i>Type of Speech</i>
9/11/01	Statement by the President in His Address to the Nation	PA
9/14/01	National Day of Prayer	M
9/15/01	Attack Response	RA
9/20/01	Joint Session	M
9/22/01	Economy	RA
9/29/01	Progress Made in War on Terrorism	RA
10/6/01	Humanitarian Aid to Afghanistan	RA
10/7/01	Presidential Address	M
10/11/01	Prime Time News Conference	PA
10/13/01	Economy	RA
10/20/01	Terrorism	RA
10/27/01	Legislation in War on Terrorism	RA
11/3/01	Anthrax	RA
11/10/01	President Speaks to the United Nations	PA
11/10/01	War on Terrorism	PA
11/24/01	Thanksgiving	RA
12/1/01	Job Creation/Economic Stimulus	RA
12/8/01	Economic Stimulus	RA
12/11/01	The World Will Always Remember 9/11	PA
12/15/01	Economic Stimulus	RA
12/22/01	Economy, Terrorism	RA
12/25/01	Christmas Radio Address	RA
12/29/01	Year in Review	RA
1/5/02	Economy	RA
1/12/02	Economy and Budget	RA
1/19/02	Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.	RA
1/26/02	2002 Priorities	RA
1/29/02	State of the Union	M
2/2/02	Pension Protection	RA
2/9/02	Black History Month	RA
2/16/02	Asia Trip	RA
2/23/02	Energy Security	RA

Note: RA=Radio Address; M=Major Speech; PA=Public Address

Appendix B: Speeches Included in the Sample (Pre-Hurricane Katrina/Rita Crisis; Time Period 3)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Speech Title</i>	<i>Type of Speech</i>
3/5/05	Middle East	RA
3/12/05	Social Security	RA
3/19/05	Iraq	RA
3/26/05	Easter	RA
4/2/05	WMD Commission Report	RA
4/9/05	Pope John Paul II	RA
4/16/05	Energy	RA
4/23/05	Budget	RA
4/30/05	Social Security	RA
5/7/05	European Trip	RA
5/14/05	Economy	RA
5/21/05	War on Terror	RA
5/28/05	Memorial Day	RA
6/4/05	Congressional Priorities	RA
6/11/05	Economic Security	PA
6/18/05	Economic Security and War on Terror	RA
6/22/05	President Discusses Energy Policy and Economic Security	PA
6/25/05	Iraq	RA
6/28/05	Presidential Address on Iraq and War on Terror	M
6/30/05	President Discusses G-8 Summit and Progress in Africa	PA
7/2/05	Independence Day	RA
7/9/05	War on Terror	RA
7/16/05	Supreme Court	RA
7/21/05	President Promotes Central American Free Trade Agreement	PA
7/23/05	Supreme Court	RA
7/30/05	Key Priorities	RA
8/6/05	Economy	RA
8/13/05	War on Terror	RA
8/20/05	War on Terror	RA
8/27/05	Democracy in the Middle East	RA

Note: RA=Radio Address; M=Major Speech; PA=Public Address

Appendix B: Speeches Included in the Sample (Post Hurricane Katrina/Rita Crisis; Time Period 4)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Speech Title</i>	<i>Type of Speech</i>
9/3/05	Hurricane Katrina Relief Efforts	RA
9/10/05	September 11 and Hurricane Katrina	RA
9/14/05	President Addresses United Nations High-Level Plenary Meeting	PA
9/15/05	President Discusses Hurricane Relief in Address to the Nation	M
9/17/05	Hurricane Katrina Relief Efforts	RA
9/24/05	Hurricane Preparation and Recovery	RA
10/1/05	Democracy in Iraq	RA
10/8/05	Supreme Court Nomination	RA
10/15/05	Iraq Constitution	RA
10/22/05	Homeland Security	RA
10/29/05	Iraqi Elections	RA
11/5/05	Supreme Court	RA
11/12/05	Medicare Prescription Drug Coverage	RA
11/19/05	U.S.-Asia Trade Relations	RA
11/26/05	Thanksgiving	PA
12/3/05	Border Security and Immigration Reform	RA
12/10/05	Patriot Act	RA
12/17/05	Homeland Security and Patriot Act	RA
12/18/05	Presidential Address	M
12/24/05	Christmas	RA
12/31/05	2005 Accomplishments and Future Priorities	RA
1/7/06	Economy	RA
1/14/06	Supreme Court	RA
1/21/06	Economy and Small Business	RA
1/28/06	Supreme Court	RA
1/31/06	State of the Union	M
2/4/06	American Competitiveness Initiative	RA
2/11/06	Medicare Prescription Drug Coverage	RA
2/18/06	Energy	RA
2/25/06	President's 2006 Agenda	RA

Note: RA=Radio Address; M=Major Speech; PA=Public Address

Appendix C: Sample Quotations Illustrating the Charismatic Leadership Constructs (from the State of the Union Address on January 31st, 2006)

<i>Charismatic Rhetoric Construct</i>	<i>Sample Quotation</i>
Collective Focus	Fellow citizens, we've been called to leadership in a period of consequence.
Temporal Orientation	In recent years, America has become a more hopeful nation.
Followers' Worth	By allowing radical Islam to work its will--by leaving an assaulted world to fend for itself--we would signal to all that we no longer believe in our own ideals, or even in our own courage.
Similarity to Followers	This year, the first of about 78 million baby boomers turn 60, including two of my Dad's favorite people--me and President Clinton.
Values and Moral Justifications	America is a great force for freedom and prosperity.
Tangibility	The answer is not only temporary relief, but schools that teach every child, and job skills that bring upward mobility, and more opportunities to own a home and start a business.
Action	Like Americans before us, we will show that courage and we will finish well.
Adversity	We've entered a great ideological conflict we did nothing to invite.

Appendix D: MANCOVA Results for Hypothesis Tests and Additional Analyses

<i>Time Periods</i>	<i>Variable</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Partial Eta Squared</i>	<i>Wilk's Lambda</i>
September 11 th (1 & 2)		.000***	.339	.661
	Collective Focus	.070	.027	
	Temporal Orientation	.010*	.054	
	Followers' Worth	.118	.020	
	Similarity to Followers	.223	.012	
	Values and Moral Justifications	.004**	.066	
	Tangibility	.000***	.139	
	Action	.012*	.051	
	Adversity	.000***	.175	
Hurricane Katrina (3 & 4)		.035*	.103	.897
	Collective Focus	.060	.022	
	Temporal Orientation	.089	.018	
	Followers' Worth	.269	.008	
	Similarity to Followers	.459	.003	
	Values and Moral Justifications	.034*	.028	
	Tangibility	.557	.002	
	Action	.498	.003	
	Adversity	.143	.014	
Post-Crises (2 & 4)		.000***	.241	.759
	Collective Focus	.109	.017	
	Temporal Orientation	.306	.007	
	Followers' Worth	.004**	.056	
	Similarity to Followers	.651	.001	
	Values and Moral Justifications	.195	.011	
	Tangibility	.000***	.122	
	Action	.842	.000	
	Adversity	.010	.045	

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Appendix E: Post-Hoc Analysis of Variance Results Comparing Charismatic Rhetoric Variables by Time Period

<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Time Period (I)</i>	<i>Time Period (J)</i>	<i>Mean Difference (I-J)</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Collective Focus	1	2	-3.468	1.726	.273
		3	-3.659	1.680	.181
		4	-6.501	1.717	.001**
	2	1	3.468	1.726	.273
		3	-.192	1.508	1.000
		4	-3.033	1.549	.307
	3	1	3.659	1.680	.181
		2	.192	1.508	1.000
		4	-2.841	1.497	.353
	4	1	6.501	1.717	.001**
		2	3.033	1.549	.307
		3	2.841	1.497	.353
Temporal Orientation	1	2	3.403	1.454	.120
		3	-.302	1.415	1.000
		4	2.517	1.446	.497
	2	1	-3.403	1.454	.120
		3	-3.705	1.270	.023*
		4	-.886	1.305	1.000
	3	1	.302	1.415	1.000
		2	3.705	1.270	.023*
		4	2.819	1.261	.157
	4	1	-2.517	1.446	.497
		2	.886	1.305	1.000
		3	-2.819	1.261	.157

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Appendix E: Post-Hoc Analysis of Variance Results Comparing Charismatic Rhetoric Variables by Time Period (Continued)

<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Time Period (I)</i>	<i>Time Period (J)</i>	<i>Mean Difference (I-J)</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Followers' Worth	1	2	-2.382	2.270	1.000
		3	2.432	2.209	1.000
		4	3.985	2.258	.472
	2	1	2.382	2.270	1.000
		3	4.814	1.983	.095
		4	6.367	2.037	.012*
	3	1	-2.432	2.209	1.000
		2	-4.814	1.983	.095
		4	1.553	1.969	1.000
	4	1	-3.985	2.258	.472
		2	-6.367	2.037	.012*
		3	-1.553	1.969	1.000
Similarity to Followers	1	2	-4.609	3.751	1.000
		3	-6.292	3.651	.515
		4	-.700	3.731	1.000
	2	1	4.609	3.751	1.000
		3	-1.683	3.277	1.000
		4	3.909	3.366	1.000
	3	1	6.292	3.651	.515
		2	1.683	3.277	1.000
		4	5.592	3.254	.521
	4	1	.700	3.731	1.000
		2	-3.909	3.366	1.000
		3	-5.592	3.254	.521
Values and Morals	1	2	-20.231	9.250	.177
		3	-13.988	9.002	.728
		4	-27.695	9.200	.017*
	2	1	20.231	9.250	.177
		3	6.243	8.081	1.000
		4	-7.464	8.300	1.000
	3	1	13.988	9.002	.728
		2	-6.243	8.081	1.000
		4	-13.707	8.024	.532
	4	1	27.695	9.200	.017*
		2	7.464	8.300	1.000
		3	13.707	8.024	.532

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Appendix E: Post-Hoc Analysis of Variance Results Comparing Charismatic Rhetoric Variables by Time Period (Continued)

<i>Dependent Variable</i>	<i>Time Period (I)</i>	<i>Time Period (J)</i>	<i>Mean Difference (I-J)</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Tangibility	1	2	30.402	8.726	.003**
		3	4.913	8.493	1.000
		4	-6.709	8.679	1.000
	2	1	-30.402	8.726	.003**
		3	-25.489	7.233	.006**
		4	-37.111	7.831	.000***
	3	1	-4.913	8.493	1.000
		2	25.489	7.233	.006**
		4	-11.622	7.570	.755
	4	1	6.709	8.679	1.000
		2	37.111	7.831	.000***
		3	11.622	7.570	.755
Action	1	2	-5.862	2.323	.073
		3	-7.308	2.260	.008**
		4	-7.341	2.310	.010*
	2	1	5.862	2.323	.073
		3	-1.446	2.029	1.000
		4	-1.480	2.084	1.000
	3	1	7.308	2.260	.008**
		2	1.446	2.029	1.000
		4	-.033	2.015	1.000
	4	1	7.341	2.310	.010*
		2	1.480	2.084	1.000
		3	.033	2.015	1.000
Adversity	1	2	-7.495	1.387	.000***
		3	-2.158	1.350	.666
		4	-3.684	1.380	.048*
	2	1	7.495	1.387	.000***
		3	5.337	1.212	.000***
		4	3.811	1.245	.014*
	3	1	2.158	1.350	.666
		2	-5.337	1.212	.000***
		4	-1.526	1.203	1.000
	4	1	3.684	1.380	.048*
		2	-3.811	1.245	.014*
		3	1.526	1.203	1.000

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

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